DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 311 811 HE 022 899

AUTHOR	Blumberg, Melanie J.
TITLE	Scandinavian Higher Educational Reform: From Elitism to Egalitarianism.
PUB DATE	2 May 86
NOTE	55p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study (Columbus, OH, April 30-May 2, 1986).
PUB TYPE	Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Access to Education; Change Strategies; Decentralization; Decision Making; *Democracy; *Educational Change; Educational Improvement; *Elitism; *Equal Education; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Females; Foreign Countries; *Higher Education; Institutional Autonomy; Sex Discrimination; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS	Denmark; Finland; Iceland; Norway; *Scandinavia; Sweden

ABSTRACT

An evaluation is made of the extent to which Scandinavian higher education has been democratized, noting democratization includes the four elements of: subordination of university decision making to parliamentary democracy and to corporate representative bodies; decentralization of higher education regionally; equal access to higher education on the basis of class and gender; and internal democratization of university decision making. Postwar educational reforms in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden are examined with reference to four categories of social choice: scope; policy instruments; distribution; and restraints and innovation. Norway and Sweden have been the most successful in democratizing higher education; Denmark and Finland, while also implementing significant reform measures, generally have failed to equal the level of democratization reached by the other two countries. Iceland lags behind in terms of the university's subordination to government planners and the lack of equal representation for faculty, students, and staff on university governing bodies. Finland, Norway, and Sweden have been more successful than Iceland in decentralizing higher education regionally. Recent reports indicate that Denmark, Iceland, and Norway have corrected the gender imbalance. While Finland and Sweden have not achieved equality, women in both countries do earn the highest percentage of first degrees. Women in all five countries remain underrepresented on many prestigious faculties and in postgraduate work. Overall, Scandinavian higher education reform has leveled a number of inequalities, but in the process, university autonomy was eroded and institutions lost decision-making authority in most areas. Tables are included. Contains 43 references. (SM)

ED271817

SCANDINAVIAN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL REFORM:

FROM ELITISM TO EGALITARIANIM

Melanie J. Blumberg
Department of Political Science
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio 44242

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Melanie J. Blumberg

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

IR 022 829

Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, April 30-May 2, 1986, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. (Revised)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

It has often been argued that a peculiarly Social Democratic welfare state model has been created in Nordic Europe, one based on a blend of egalitarian principles and economic concerns. Heckscher (1984) maintains that educational reform is the cornerstone of the model; it provides a means to level social inequalities and, at the same time, make citizens more productive in the labor market. The post-war reforms also modified internal university decision-making; they transformed hierarchically structured systems into ones where faculties, students, and administrative staffs and, in Sweden, corporate interests have the opportunity to influence university policy.

There is little, if any, doubt that elitist systems which once characterized higher education in the Nordic countries have been altered significantly. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the extent to which Scandinavian higher education has been democratized. Democratization, as discussed in the paper, includes four distinct elements: (1) the subordination of university decision-making to parliamentary democracy and, in Sweden, to corporate representative bodies, (2) the decentralization of higher education regionally, important particularly in Finland, Norway, and Sweden, (3) the equal access to higher education on the basis of class and gender, and (4) the internal democratization of university decision-making. It is also an attempt to access the rationale underlying the distributive choices made by policy-makers.

The analysis will be made within the conceptual framework set forth by Heidenheimer, Heclo, and Adams (1983) in

Comparative Public Policy. Post-war educational reforms in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden will be examined with reference to four categories of social choice: (1) choices of scope, (2) choices of policy instruments, (3) choices of distribution, and (4) choices of restraints and innovation.

Choices of Scope

In general, Nordic universities developed according to the traditional European model. Pedersen (1981) writes that institutions of higher learning "were financed by the state [and they] served the needs of the state for an educated elite" (p. 447). He explains that although these institutions were primarily state supported, they enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Professor were the central actors in university administrative matters; they were highly respected and considered well-qualified to control university affairs. However, significant reforms were implemented during the 1960s and 1970s which threatened traditional university life. Students, junior faculty (faculty below the rank of professor), and administrative staff pressed for far-reaching reforms; at issue was the democratization of university governing bodies. The student activism which was sweeping across Western Europe became part of the Scandinavian experience; protest movements, mass demonstrations, and student sit-ins forced government officials to draft

new legislation. While the equalization of representation was an immediate concern, the equalization of educational opportunity was an ongoing one.

With the exception of Iceland, which gained independence in 1944, it seems reasonable to assume that traditional higher educational policy has developed along similar lines throughout post-war Nordic Europe. Each nation is rather homogeneous culturally, religiously, and linguistically, except for Finland which has approximately 305,000 Swedish-speaking citizens. And, while significant cleavages exist between socialist and non-socialist ideologies, there is a general belief that all people have an inherent right to social benefits such as education, health care, and worker pensions.

Politically, there also are numerous similarities. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden are all parliamentary democracies. All are unitary states with unicameral legislatures.[1] Decisions are made by the cabinet in each country and party discipline is quite strong.

Social Democratic parties, generally credited with welfare reform, have played an important role in Danish, Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish politics for many years. The Social Democrats are weakest in Iceland; however, since the 1930s, the Independence party has supported welfare reform.

Since 1924, the Social Democratic party in Denmark has been the largest party in terms of voter support; it has been a

partner in coalition governments for over forty years (1929-1943, 1947-1950, 1953-1968, 1971-1973, and 1975-1982).[2] Since 1966, the Finnish Social Democratic party has been a partner in all but one coalition government. And, except for a brief period in 1936 and between 1976 and 1982, Social Democrats have dominated Swedish politics since 1932. In Norway, while the Labor party has provided in impetus for social change, all other major political parties support social programs which are considered essential to the modern welfare state.

The bourgeois parties in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden initially opposed comprehensive social welfare reforms. However, Heckscher (1984) and Logue and Einhorn (1985) explain that the nonsocialist parties, rather than opposing humanitarian ideals, feared the national economies would be unable to handle expansive welfare programs. According to Heckscher (1984), once the fears abated, most parties accepted welfare state principles. He also advances a second argument: the bourgeois bloc, aware of strong public support for Social Democratic reform, realized it was prudent to cooperate. In either case, by the mid-1950s, few withheld support for comprehensive social welfare reform; disagreement, for the most part, was reserved for the means rather than the objectives. In fact, Logue and Einhorn (1985) report that a number of public policies, including governmental support for education, were initiated by the nonsocialist parties after they took power in Denmark in 1968, Norway in

1965, and Sweden in 1976.

Despite the similarities in the cultural and political structure of Scandinavian society, governmental response to social and economic pressures varies cross-nationally.

Choices of Policy Instruments

In centralized political systems, policy is formed at the national level; Heidenheimer, Heclo, and Adams (1983) explain that change "arises . . . from negotiation among political bureaucratic, and social elites" (p. 32). Since change requires governmental attention and approval, there is a significantly higher degree of uniformity throughout each nations' higher educational system than there is in a country like the United States.

Prior to the period of educational reform, universities throughout Nordic Europe were relatively autonomous. Decisions affecting most aspects of university life were made within each institution. According to Heidenheimer (1977) as enrollments soared and labor market demands changed, "states and their party and bureaucratic representatives [were] increasingly compelled to rationalize and integrate their educational institutions" (p. 413).

Centralized planning, in Finland, emerged as a consequence of rapid growth; the Ministry of Education wished to gain

control over financial and academic matters. However, by 1975, the rectors and student leaders of various institutions joined in an effort to defend university autonomy. They have succeeded to an extent; plans developed at the national level are based, in part, on suggestions submitted by each institution. Nonetheless, the trend toward centralization remains strong. The universities and colleges are administratively subordinate to the Ministry of Education and a number of ad hoc committees.

The Icelandic Ministry of Culture and Education has become increasingly involved in educational policy-making. Although the university and colleges have some freedom in deciding the content of study programs, the ministry maintains tight control over all other administrative matters.

Prior to 1960, Danish publicly funded universities were only indirectly controlled by the Folketing. However, rising student enrollments and government expenditures forced legislators to reassess the government's role in higher education. Legislation passed during the 1970s slowly eroded university autonomy. For example, Pedersen (1977) explains that prior to the passage of the Management of Institutions of Higher Education Act of 1973, "curricular requirements, although issued by the Ministry of Education, were in fact developed by the university itself" (p. 339). The legislation significantly altered this practice; university boards of study now make recommendations to a central board which, in turn, channels the proposals through the

ministry. The legislation specifies that neither disciplines nor subjects may be "altered unreasonably." A report issued by the OECD (1980b) suggests that policy-makers would like to be more responsive to local and regional preferences, but they want to maintain certain levels of competence throughout the system. They fear that decentralization might lead to the breakdown of academic standards (Hansen, 1976).

Recent reforms made by the Swedish authorities have been in response to pressures caused by an expanding educational system and a changing labor market. In response to the former, the government enacted legislation to streamline decision-making; it set relatively uniform standards concerning budgeting, admission policy, and the composition of university governing bodies. The National Board of Universities and Colleges supervises and coordinates the higher educational system; it serves as a link between the institutions and the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. Under this system, universities and colleges have varying degrees of freedom depending on the policy area. In the late 1970s, six regional boards were created to help plan and coordinate universities at the local and regional levels. University interests are represented by faculty and students and public interests are represented by politicians, trade union members, business leaders, and agrarian workers. The government wants to ensure that university programs are developed in concert with labor market needs. Critics charge that the new

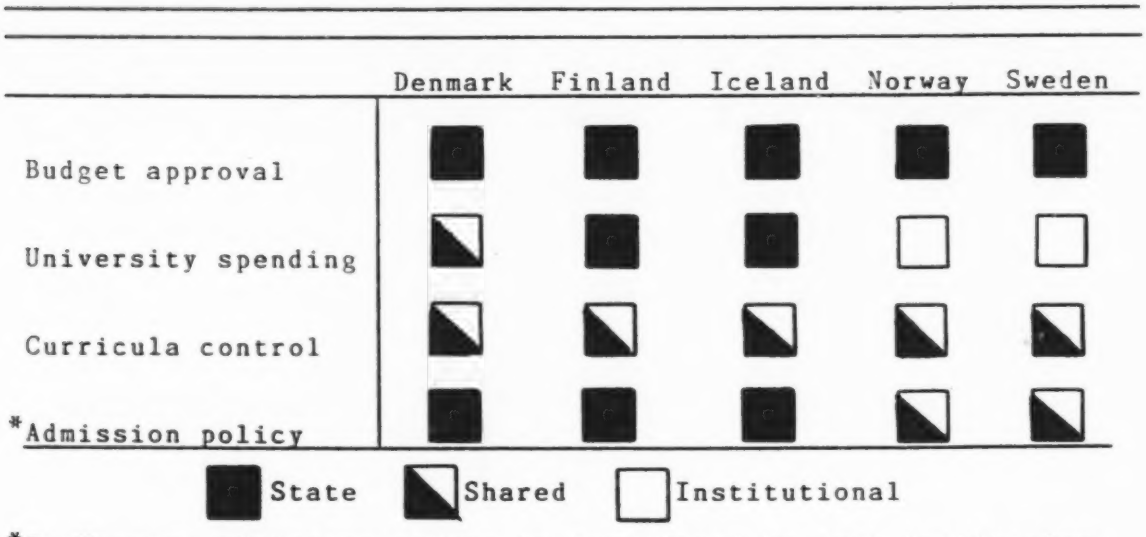
reforms jeopardize university autonomy, while reformers hold that the new policies decentralize decision-making (Premfors, 1982).

In Norway, as in all other Nordic countries, the central government sets the basic framework for institutions of higher learning. However, universities, as a matter of tradition, have the right to decide what courses to offer and to determine requirements for examinations and degrees (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, 1982). Similar to the Danes and Swedes, Norwegians generally hold negative attitudes toward centralized decision-making; many believe that if institutional policies were standardized, scholarship would suffer. As a consequence, the government's efforts to enact common university legislation have failed. For example, in 1969, the Ministry of Church and Education proposed legislation which would have required standardized examination. The University of Bergen and the National Union of Students (SFS) led the fight against uniform regulations. After a series of negotiations, the government passed a bill which gave universities the ability to propose changes in regulations; it also reemphasized the right of institutions to determine the content of study programs.

While most policy decisions are made by central government agencies, each university has managed to retain a degree of control over certain administrative matters. (Figure 1) However, as Heidenheimer (1977) explains, ". . . [P]olitical elites

everywhere [have] moved to reduce and circumscribe the subsystem autonomy which educators had managed to secure in previous eras" (p. 414).

Figure 1: Higher educational decision-making in Scandinavia



*In Norway, admission policy is formulated by each institution and approved by the government. In Sweden, institutions, working within government guidelines, decide what quotas to impose for admission to certain study programs (e.g., economics, law, and religion).

Choices of Distribution

"Whereas economic markets arrive at distributive choices by letting costs and benefits be wherever they happen to fall, the political process makes such choices in a much more self-conscious manner" (Heidenheimer, Heclo, & Adams, 1983, p. 13).

What motivated decision-makers to restructure higher education? Was the equalization of educational opportunity, viz. the equal access to higher education on the basis of class and gender and the decentralization of higher education regionally, a by-product of economic growth or was it a purely egalitarian effort to reform an elite-oriented system?

While no one would argue that egalitarian principles were not a significant factor in the efforts of governmental planners to reform higher education, these concerns were often secondary to economic considerations. Egalitarian concerns outweighed economic considerations in both Iceland and Norway; the opposite was true in Denmark and Finland. Sweden's reform efforts seem to have been a balance of the two.

Although there is little information available regarding Icelandic educational reform written in English, a report issued by the Ministry of Culture and Education (1981) explains that the "basic principle in Icelandic education is that everyone should have the opportunity to acquire the education best suited to the aptitude and ability of the individual" (p. 1). Only recently has the government given serious thought to the relationship between education and labor market needs.

Norwegian higher educational policy has its foundations rooted firmly in egalitarian principles. According to public officials, "the quest for greater equality in education has been a main theme" (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, 1976,

p. 167) in the country's educational objectives throughout the twentieth century.

Observers suggest that Norwegian attitudes and beliefs have been, and continue to be, a significant determinant in policy formation:

> Historically, the egalitarian tradition in Norwegian society may simply have its origin in extremely poor economic conditions. For many centuries the country was isolated and without the resources needed to support an upper class. Farms were many and small, and even if rural society had its social ranking, poverty was shared by most. Wealth was just acquired through industrial development, gaining momentum only relatively late, in a European context, and through the expansion of trade and shipping. (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, 1976, p. 99).

Second, OECD examiners (1976) explain that Norwegian attitudes are grounded on the Protestant ethic; in general, "this has meant a fundamental and universal commitment to literacy and an affirmative attitude towards education and its benefits" (p. 13). As important, Norwegians consider public participation in decision-making both a necessity and a duty; consequently, they are active participants in decisions which involve social reform.

The Norwegian government also responded to pressures felt similarly throughout Nordic Europe. Student enrollments had increased dramatically; labor market demands were changing; and, the urban-rural gap was widening. Most students of Scandinavian politics, however, agree that the basic thrust for educational

reform can best be traced to egalitarian principles.

The government, in an effort to correct social and economic imbalances, expanded the institutional network. Regional colleges which offer vocationally oriented programs were established in ten areas. Students, however, have expressed doubts concerning the value of shorter degrees; many consider these colleges to be "schools of last resort." Governmental officials are "extremely aware" (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, 1976, p. 174) of prestige rankings, but they also are aware that change is difficult to accept initially.

The expansion of higher education in post-war Denmark is considered to be a result of politically determined objectives. Pedersen writes:

> Denmark experienced an unprecedentedly [sic] high rate of economic growth in the late 1960s and the following decade. Education was . . . seen as a worthwhile investment, which Danish society could well afford, as could the individual citizens. The increased level of welfare and affluence provided waves of educational demand during this period. (p. 341).

While growing public belief in the equality of educational opportunity certainly influenced the government's decisions, there were other factors to be considered. Policy-makers had three basic objectives: remain competitive in the world market, sustain a high standard of living, and further develop social welfare programs. If these goals were to be accomplished, the nation's youth had to be educated. In short, Whitehead (1985),

suggests that "[t]he impetus behind the democratization of Danish higher education has been economic growth" (p. 71).

Governmental reforms broadened the access to higher education: admission requirements were liberalized, financial aid programs were established, and new institutions were built. However, by 1974, the Liberal minority government was forced to reassess Denmark's expansionist policies. According to OECD examiners (1980b), governmental officials, in reaction to the rising unemployment rates among university graduates, believed it was necessary "to monitor supply and demand, to ensure that resources [would be] equitably distributed and applied with optimum efficiency, and to try to achieve a better balance between student subject choices and labour market openings" (p. 56). In 1976, the Social Democratic minority government passed legislation which authorized the Minister of Education to regulate university admissions.

By 1978, little had changed. Further emphasis was placed on coordinating study programs with labor market needs and increasing importance was put on developing vocational programs. Many suggest that frequently changing governmental coalitions, combined with slow economic growth, have severely restricted the scope for progressive educational reform (OECD, 1980b).

In Finland, greater access to higher education is only partially attributed to public demands. Educational reform is, for the most part, a product of former President Kekkonen's

domestic policy initiatives. OECD officials (1982) explain that the reforms were the foundation for the government's regional development program. Kekkonen, an Agrarian, was interested in integrating Finland culturally and economically. Regional institutions, located outside the traditional educational centers of Helsinki and Turku, would serve a number of functions: (1) they would help stimulate provincial industrial growth which, in turn, would create new job opportunities, (2) researchers would be better equipped to understand and address local community needs, and (3) young people could be trained to apply modern technology to local business problems. Moreover, Kekkonen believed that Finnish educational and research standards had to be raised to meet those of the most progressive European systems if the country was to remain competitive in the world market. Throughout the 1970s, Kekkonen relied on Center-Left coalition governments to support his domestic policies.

A new phase in the development of Finnish higher education began in the 1980s; like policy-makers in other Nordic countries, governmental officials were forced to reassess their ambitious programs. In general, the government's plans included halting growth and shifting priorities. Efforts are being made to match study programs to labor market needs; as such, emphasis is being placed on vocational training rather than traditional university studies.

The Swedish experience is a blend of social and economic policy initiatives. Husēn (1969) suggests that the "Social Democrats took only a marginal interest in reforming education during their first decade of political power" (p. 479). They were concerned primarily with achieving full employment and efficiently redistributing valued resources. Educational reform, although important in principle, had to wait; many university trained Swedes could not find work and additional graduates would only compound the unemployment problem. However, by 1945, educational reform and academic research standards became a major political issue.

According to Marklund and Bergendal (1979), both private and public sector demands for people with professional skills "grew at an unprecedented rate" (p. 32). By the early 1950s, governmental policy-makers feared that the number of university and college graduates would fall short of those needs. In an effort to ensure institutions would have an adequate number of applications, the government decided to relax entrance requirements for selected study tracks.

Several groups, most notably the Swedish Federation of Professional Employees (SACO), forecasted an oversupply of graduates from the open faculties, viz. humanities and social sciences. Governmental planners were caught in a dilemma. While it was likely expanding enrollments during the 1960s would eventually lead to an excess of qualified people, the immediate

situation was quite different. Heidenheimer (1978) reports that students did not perceive the possibility of a jobless future since "[t]he demand for university-educated technicians, statisticians, and economists . . . was always much greater than the supply" (p. 67). New graduates, as well as those who had not completed their studies, found employment. How could the government now limit enrollments when its policy during the last fifteen years had been to create educational opportunities? It was not politically feasible.

Meanwhile, the increase in the number of places in faculties with restricted admissions (i.e., medicine, dentistry, and engineering) failed to create a balance between student enrollments and Sweden's need and student preferences and university selection. This was due, in part, to the more stringent entrance requirements for professional programs. Students having completed three years of study in a gymnasiaskola could enroll in any free faculty study program, whereas students applying to closed faculties were judged on their grade point averages. (Marklund and Bergendal (1979) explain that many students were forced to choose other programs which had less rigorous requirements; as a consequence, more students were channeled into an already overcrowded system.

The government, in an effort to resolve the problem precipitated by the rapid growth of the educational sector, charged the 1968 Educational Planning Commission (U 68) with the task of

developing comprehensive plans to correct the imbalance. Initially, U 68 was noncontroversial. The only objection from the nonsocialist parties, according to Premfors (1979), "concerned the composition of the commission: they wanted it to be less influenced by top-level bureaucrats and correspondingly more responsive to members of parliament" (p. 83).[3] However, when the U 68 report was issued in 1973, there was little consensus between the political Left and Right. (Figure 2)

Figure 2: Swedish party reaction to the U 68 proposals

Policy	Left		Right		
	VPK	SD	CP	FP	MSP
*Numerous clausus	■	□	■	■	■
+Governing board representation	□	□	◪	■	■
Regional development	□	□	□	■	■

□ Agreement ◪ Moderate opposition ■ Strong opposition

*The numerous clausus would apply to all faculties.

+Opposition to representation of public interests (e.g., labor organizations and business groups on university governing bodies.

Source: Adapted from information in R. I. T. Premfors, "The Politics of Higher Education in Sweden: Recent Developments, 1976-1978," European Journal of Education, 14, 81-106.

Abbreviations: VPK (Left-Party Communists); SD (Social Democratic Party; CP (Center Party); FP (Liberal People's Party); MSP (Moderate Unity Party).

The Social Democrats needed the support of an opposition party if the U 68 reforms were to be written into law; the Center Party was, by far, the most logical choice.[4] Like the Social Democrats, the Centrists were in favor of regional development; historically, they had opposed the concentration of resources and opportunities in a few urban areas (Ruin, 1982). Center opposition to restricted admission did not pose a serious threat to the working relationship. The concessions the Social Democrats had to make were minimal. The U 68 proposal specified that a majority of seats on the governing boards of institutions should be held by those representing the public interest. A compromise was reached whereby public representatives would hold one-third of the seats on the boards of institutions and two-thirds of the seats on regional boards (Premfors, 1979).

While the controversial across-the-board quota system remained intact, the U 68 commission emphasized that student preferences, as well as market forecasts, would be taken into consideration by government planners. In reality, the compromise legislation closely resembled the U 68 proposals submitted two years earlier.

The 1975 Higher Education Act, supported by the Social Democratic and Center parties, provided the framework for the subsequent legislation passed by the bourgeois coalition government in 1977. The only significant policy reversal involved the reinstatement of a free sector.[5] Ruin (1982) writes:

> The Centre Party seems to have prevailed over the Conservatives and Liberals in formulating the new government's policy for higher education. It was aided, however, by the momentum of a reform already underway. The implementation had gone too far in reaching the principles enacted in 1975. (p. 359).

Although it might seem that economic interests outweighed egalitarian concerns, most students of Scandinavian politics argue otherwise (Anderson, 1975; Heidenheimer, 1977, 1978; Premfors, 1978, 1979). According to Premfors (1979), Conservatives, Liberals, Centrists, Social Democrats, and Centrists alike agreed that higher educational policy should "further economic growth, social equality, and cultural development" (p. 82). Their goal was "to satisfy [both] student and labor market demand (Premfors, 1979, p. 82).

By late 1960, legislators throughout Nordic Europe also were pressured to democratize internal university governing structures. While earlier reforms in Iceland, Norway, and Sweden had extended limited participatory rights to faculty and students, governmental policies during the reformist years prompted the various academic communities to seek parity.[6] Teaching responsibilities were divided unevenly between full professors and junior faculty; the government increased its control over curricula development; across-the-board quotas were imposed; and administrative staff, for the most part, remained disenfranchised.[7] Each government responded differently to the demands made by university communities.

Whitehead (1985) explains, "Danish universities, unlike

their counterparts in many modern European countries, had traditionally been under the authority of the Crown rather than Parliament" (p. 58). By 1901, indirect parliamentary control had been established; however, the legislature chose to distance itself from internal university affairs. Universities had always enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy; any attempt by the government to interfere with internal decision-making would have been considered a threat to academic freedom.

Professors played a dominant role in university policy matters; they made decisions concerning research priorities, curricula content, and faculty hiring. By 1968, the relationship between professors and other faculty had become a serious problem. In an effort to keep pace with rising enrollments, full-time teaching staff increased nearly fourfold; professorships, however, increased at a much slower pace. According to Pedersen (1977), universities were in jeopardy of losing talented young scholars. If promotional opportunities were not available in Denmark, the younger generation might seek employment in either Western Europe or the United States. Junior faculty also found it increasingly difficult to work within a system where antiquated hierarchical structures excluded them from decision-making. Many simply believed that a number of professors no longer provided intellectual leadership (Pedersen, 1977; Whitehead, 1985). Young teachers who found themselves in academic exile demanded the right to sit on university governing bodies.

Meanwhile, the 1968 student strike at the University of Copenhagen united students and junior faculty in an effort to democratize university government. Initially, the Minister of Education remained detached from negotiations. According to Pedersen (1977) and Whitehead (1985), the government had been reluctant to modify university administrative units; it only decided to become involved after the university director, Mogens Fog, had negotiated a settlement. The compromise reached at Copenhagen provided the guideline for the Management of Universities Act (1970) which established two new internal administrative bodies to be composed of an equal number of students and faculty of all ranks.

Conservatives, Liberals, and Radical Liberals supported the bill, while the opposition parties either voted against it or abstained. The political Left favored the one man-one vote principle which was being debated in the Finnish Parliament. Three years later, however, all parties on the Left-Right spectrum voted for the Management of Institutions Higher Education Act. The new legislation extended participatory rights to technical and administrative staff; representation on the governing bodies was based on a 2:1:1 faculty-student-staff ratio.[8] Pedersen (1977) considers the reforms a "pragmatic political compromise" (p. 358). He explains that faculty and students acquiesced to the inclusion on administrative staff on university governing bodies; it is likely "the concession was . . . based more on

tactical and pragmatic considerations than on principles of justice and equity" (Pedersen, 1977, p. 358). It was also a compromise for the Left; the one man-one vote principle really never had the support necessary for passage.

Like their counterparts throughout Scandinavia, Finnish students pressed for internal university reform. Pesonen (1982) points out that student demands coincided with the reorganization of the political system" (p. 377); "[f]or the first (and only) time the political Left received a majority of seats" (p. 376).[9] Three months after the Social Democrats took office, the government issued a decree on the future development of universities; although the language was somewhat ambiguous, the decree specified the need for widespread participation in university decision-making. By 1967, the government had enacted legislation pertaining to the administrative units at the University of Jyväskylä. Student and faculty representatives were to be included on intermediate level and lower level bodies, while full professors were to remain the sole occupants of seats on the highest governing organs. Shortly thereafter, similar legislation was passed for the University of Tampere.

Prior to 1968, students had not actively sought university reform. According to Pesonen (1982):

> . . . [D]iscussions about student participation in internal university affairs concerned so-called study councils, advisory co-operative bodies of both student and teacher representatives, which had consultation functions about all matters of immediate concern to students, such as teaching and course requirements. (pp. 368-369).

Following the National Union of Student's endorsement of universal suffrage, Finnish student associations made the one man-one vote principle its primary objective. For the next four years various attempts were made to reform university decision-making.

The government, in general, had been in favor of democratizing university governing units; however, there was little consensus within and between the parties concerning the degree of shared responsibility. In addition to Lex Virolainen, the Social Democratic minority government's first attempt at comprehensive university reform, various opposition parties as well as a group of Social Democrats proposed alternative legislation. Lengthy debates and opposition filibustering ended the government's hope of passing any legislation. Lex Itälä, the Center minority government's attempt at university internal reform, suffered the same fate. The government had tried to reach a compromise which would appeal to both the Left and Right, but little progress was made before Parliament was dissolved in late 1971. Lex Sundqvist, the third attempt at institutional reform, was the most radical; the Social Democratic draft bill contained the one man-one vote principle for all levels of university government. However, during the second reading of the bill, one man-one vote was changed to tri-partite representation. The Centrists were the only party to support the legislative measure; according to Pesonen (1982), the bill "was too 'diluted' to

satisfy the Left and it was too radical to please the Right which did not desire university councils with universal suffrage" (p. 384).

By 1973, the Ministry of Education was forced to reorganize the administrative bodies of three private universities that were being transferred to state control. Interim decrees were issued which established tri-partite councils with equal representation of professors, junior faculty and staff, and students. In 1976, further attempts were made to restructure university decision-making along the lines suggested by Virolainen; again, the government failed to reach a consensus on the division of authority. Pesonen (1982) believes, in time, the tripartite arrangement will be codified.

The Norwegian experience was somewhat different. Midgaard (1982) writes:

> Since the beginning of this century there has been a general trend in Norway towards broader participation in university government. . . . Readers were made members of the faculty councils long before the events of 1968, and both academic staff below the rank of reader and the students were represented in a way that was found satisfactory by these groups themselves. (pp. 317-318).

Since the 1920s, students also have been active in many other facets of university life; they are responsible for student housing, student health services, food services, and university book stores.

University growth in the 1960s, however, created an uneasy situation. Junior faculty and students alike demanded representation on all university governing bodies. Subsequent reforms, though, differed from institution to institution. Oslo and Bergen were the oldest universities; both had well-entrenched hierarchical structures. Authorities at Trondheim, concerned over the recent integration of other institutions of higher learning, wanted to maintain separate administrative units. Officials at Tromsø, the newest university, had made an early commitment to establish what they believed to be a meaningful division of authority. It was the only university to include representatives of society-at-large on high level governing bodies; public interests account for approximately 5 percent of board membership.

Decisions regarding educational reform, much the same as any other social issue, involve widespread public participation. The government, by tradition, is committed to base its final decision on proposals made by interested parties; in this case, the universities submitted draft bills on internal reform to the Ministry of Church and Education. Hence, while the government attempted to establish a uniform organizational pattern throughout the system, it only succeeded to a degree.

Midgaard (1982), however, cautions that "the role of the central government should not be underestimated" (p. 321). For example, the Collegium (the highest university administrative

unit) at the University of Oslo favored the differentiation of voting rights; it wanted faculty to have the exclusive right to vote on matters concerning appointments and academic degrees. The Labor government disagreed; it held that all members of a governing body should have the right to vote on all issues. Labor's position was strengthened further by the intensive lobbying efforts of students and nonacademic staff. Currently, students hold seats on all university governing bodies; and, while the proportion of student representatives on each board varies, students have the right to vote on all matters. In accordance with the government's general commitment to democratize university decision-making, similar legislation was enacted for Bergen, Trondheim, and Tromsø. As expected, the composition of the governing units at Tromso "define the present limit of participation in Norwegian [u]niversities" (OECD, 1976, p. 29). Student representation varies between 25 and 30 percent at each institution; students and nonacademic staff, together, account for at least 50 percent of the membership on the boards (Midgaard, 1982; OECD, 1976).

Sweden's response to demands for internal university reform differed from its neighbors'. Like their counterparts in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Norway, Swedish professors dominated university governing bodies. While they had significantly more authority than other members of the academic community, responsibilities were divided, albeit unevenly, on both lower and

intermediate level administrative units. For example, departmental decisions were made by the prefekt (department chair) in consultation with a committee composed of all departmental faculty and two student representatives

Swedish students were not new to the political arena. According to Ruin (1982), the SFS, in the late 1940s, had been "invited to comment officially on proposals for legislation as well as to nominate representatives for membership on royal commissions" (p. 336). During the reform period, the SFS's lobbying efforts were as intense as the trade unions' (Heidenheimer, 1978; Ruin, 1982).

In 1968, junior faculty, in reaction to increased teaching responsibilities, students, in reaction to tighter government control over curricula, and administrative staff, in reaction to their disenfranchisement, pressured policy-makers to correct the imbalances on university governing bodies. The government responded quickly since the democratization of internal university structures coincided with its policy objectives. As important, it wanted to avoid any unnecessary confrontations. Three months after the government appointed members to the U 68 Commission, the Cabinet requested the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities to design a plan for internal reform. For approximately seven years, universities throughout Sweden participated in experimental reforms developed by the Chancellor's office (Ruin, 1982). Representation, in general, had been increased across all levels

of university government.

It came as somewhat of a surprise to university students and personnel when the government decided to postpone its final decision on structural changes until the U 68 Commission issued its report. It was a serious setback for faculty and students when the commission specified that public interests should be represented on both internal and external governing bodies. Faculty and students joined in opposition to the plan; Liberals, Conservatives, and to a lesser extent, Centrists also objected to the idea. It was the Center that forced the government's concession regarding the ratio of university representatives to public representatives.

None of the other Scandinavian universities faced this particular "threat" to their autonomy. Conservatives and Liberals in Norway favored the inclusion of society-at-large representatives on internal governing units. while the Socialist Election Alliance tacitly supported the inclusion of trade union representatives; the idea, with the exception of the University of Tromso reforms, never passed the debate stage (Midgaard, 1982). In Finland, the government was strongly opposed to outside representation on high level administrative bodies (Pesonen, 1982).

Regardless of the faculty-student-staff ratio and the presence or absence of public representatives on university governing bodies, policy-makers in all five countries succeeded in

increasing participatory rights. The question remains whether governmental policies have equalized educational opportunities.

Choices of Restraints and Innovation

Heidenheimer, Heclo, and Adams (1983) write:

> [Choices of restraints and innovation] become particularly applicable when significant change in the character of constraints poses questions about how to continue, terminate, or adapt policies which had been implemented in light of preceding choices. In one direction choices can go toward toughening the prevailing rules regarding the extension or extraction of resources and benefits; in the other they can go toward experimenting with new techniques. (p. 13).

Throughout Scandinavia, university enrollments, student expectations, and labor market demands soared during the post-war years. Governmental officials responded by liberalizing admission requirements and creating educational institutions beyond the traditional university boarders. By the mid-1970s, central governments, academic communities, and labor markets were showing signs of strain. Resources were spread too thin; academic excellence was eroding; and, university graduates were having trouble finding jobs. The latter problem was, in part, the result of attitude that university graduates have a right to jobs for which they are trained.

A decade has passed since the most significant and, at the same time, the most controversial higher educational reforms

were enacted. How have the students fared?

Scandinavian higher education, for all intents and purposes, is cost-free. Minimal fees are applied toward student welfare programs such as health and counseling services. All students are eligible for study funds given in the form of grants and loans. Whether students choose to attend a state or a private institution, they have the right to both forms of financial aid.[10] Even in countries where student requests are means-tested (i.e., Sweden), the amount of aid is calculated solely on the basis of the student's income and assets. Free tuition, government grants, and low-interest loans have given students who would otherwise be unable to attend college the opportunity to increase their marketability. However, student aid, by itself, has not been a panacea for social and economic disparities.

Post-war educational policies liberalized admission requirements. Students with less than a traditional three-year upper-secondary education gained access to universities and colleges. (Figure 3) Governmental planners had a dual objective: broaden the access to higher education for children from working-class families and stimulate economic growth. As long as a student had the necessary credentials he or she could select any program in the humanities, social sciences, or natural sciences.

Figure 3: University and college admission requirements in Nordic Europe

	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden
Upper secondary leaving certificate	X	X	X	X	X
[a]Subject-specific aptitude tests	-	X	-	-	X
[b]Vocational training	-	X	X	X	-
[c]Work experience	X	-	-	X	X
Native language and English	X	X	X	X	X
Individual assessment	X	-	X	-	-
[d]Numerous clausus	X	X	X	X	X
[e]Entrance examinations	-	X	X	-	X

[a]Special admission requirements may apply to particular study programs or courses.

[b]Finland takes vocational training into consideration on a case by case basis. Iceland requires vocational training for admission to technical engineering at the Technical College of Iceland. Norway requires vocational training plus five years work experience in lieu of a leaving certificate.

[c]Denmark takes work experience into consideration on a case by case basis. Norway requires vocational training and five years work experience in lieu of a leaving certificate. Sweden requires applicants to be twenty-five years old with four years work experience and the equivalent of two years English at the upper-secondary school level.

[d]Restricted admissions apply to all faculties except selected study programs in Norway.

[e]This test is optional for applicants who qualify on the basis of age and work experience.

Growing student enrollments in the 1960s and 1970s caused policy-makers to reevaluate the overcrowded and somewhat antiquated educational system. (Table 1)

Table 1

University Expansion in Nordic Europe*
1960 to 1985

(population in thousands)

	1960		1985	
	Number of Universities	Population per University	Number of Universities	Population per University
[a]Denmark	2	2500	5	1023
[b]Finland	3	1428	17	287
Iceland	1	169	4	235
[c]Norway	2	1765	4	1031
[d]Sweden	4	1858	6 [10]	1388 [833]

*State operated universities.

[a]There are also three university centers at Odense, Roskilde, and Alborg.

[b]The restructuring of the higher educational system accounts for the increase in universities. In many instances the universities are not identical to the traditional institutions, but more like the Norwegian regional colleges.

[c]Regional colleges are not included in these figures.

[d]Bracketing numbers include university annexes.

Sources: Population information from Europe Yearbook (1984). London: Europa Publications. World Almanac (1960). New York: New York World Telegram.

The Norwegian government created regional colleges both to alleviate the pressure felt by the universities and to develop highly specialized programs which would cater to regional labor market needs. In Denmark, the Folketing passed legislation that sanctioned the creation of university centers which would offer medium-term and short-term programs. This was partially in response to growing demands on the traditional universities; but, it was also an effort to create opportunities for those previously excluded from continuing their educations. Governmental planners believed that it was no longer feasible "to rely on the training of graduates for a few well-defined professions at a time when post-secondary education [was] evolving from an elite institution into a mass system of education" (Hansen, 1976, p. 11). Governmental officials also believed that students who were most apt to become discouraged with their studies and either change programs or leave school prematurely might be more inclined to complete a shorter, more focused track. Finland responded to a changing society by restructuring its higher educational system. Legislative action accorded many existing institutions university status and private universities were transferred to state control. Sweden reacted similarly. Universities found it difficult to cope with growing demands for student places and housing and faculties found it difficult to adequately handle increased teaching responsibilities. The Riksdag, following the recommendation of a special commission on universities and professional colleges, approved the creation of four branch campuses; two additional universities also were

established. Swedish planners had many of the same concerns as government officials in Finland and Norway:

> There was evidence of the influence the proximity factor exerted both on recruitment to higher education and on where graduates chose to live during their subsequent professional careers. Geographical proximity was, in fact, increasingly important because higher education also sought to recruit older students and because both spouses in young families were increasingly likely to have gainful employment. (Marklund & Bergendal, 1979, p. 41).

The emphasis placed on education, in general, is reflected by the significant increases in governmental expenditures. (Table 2) For example, between 1965 and 1975, Denmark and Sweden doubled appropriations for education, Finland and Norway spent nearly twice as much, and Icelandic allocations increased more than tenfold. Moreover, expenditures during this period increased as a proportion of the GNP.

Have students benefited from the reform measures? On the surface, yes. In all five nations enrollments among those graduating from upper-secondary schools, as well as students who come via vocational training or through a combination of work-study experience, have increased significantly. In Denmark, university enrollments increased more than 130 percent since 1969. (Table 3) Finnish enrollments for the same period rose over 114 percent and Icelandic registration increased over 273 percent. In Norway, university enrollment grew slightly more than 232 percent, an increase of 64,000 students. Since 1969, the number of students in universities and professional colleges increased 96 percent in Sweden; in fact, the 1970 student

registration in the social sciences alone exceeded the total number of students in all institutions of higher learning just ten years earlier (Heidenheimer, 1978).

Table 2

Governmental Expenditures of Education
in
Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden
1965 to 1984*

	Year	Amount in foreign currency units	Percent of GNP
Denmark	1965	4,028,000	5.7
Krone	1970	8,137,000	6.4
	1975	16,801,000	7.8
	1980	25,020,000	6.9
	1984	35,589,000	6.5
Finland	1965	1,537,772	6.0
Markka	1970	2,678,872	6.2
	1975	6,497,103	6.5
	1980	10,434,855	5.7
	1983	15,355,425	5.7
Iceland	1965	722,000	3.4
Krona	1971	2,543,241	4.7
	1975	7,810,000	4.2
Norway	1965	2,661,100	5.3
Krone	1970	4,771,600	5.9
	1975	10,456,000	7.1
	1980	19,731,000	7.2
	1983	27,167,000	7.0
Sweden	1965	6,620,000	6.2
Krona	1970	13,150,000	7.7
	1975	21,230,220	7.1
	1980	47,322,300	9.1
	1984	61,539,800	8.0

*Comparable data is not available for all years.

Sources: Statistical Yearbook, 1977 pp. 536-538. Paris: UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook, 1985. Paris: UNESCO.

Table 3

Registered Students
at
Scandinavian Universities and Colleges at University Level
1969 to 1983

		1969		1974		1983		Percent increase
Denmark	Females	14,743	[29.97]	24,862	[35.35]	55,765	[49.28]	278.25
	Males	34,447	[70.03	45,460	[64.65]	57,392	[50.72]	66.61
	Total	49,185		70,322		113,157		130.06
Finland	Females	26,621	[47.62]	34,341	[49.11]	57,231	[47.70]	114.98
	Males	29,286	[52.38]	35,584	[50.89]	62,751	[52.30]	114.27
	Total	55,907		69,925		119,982		114.61
Iceland	Females	322	[23.82]	907	[33.67]	2,699	[51.78]	712.95
	Males	1,062	[76.18]	1,790	[66.37]	2,513	[48.22]	136.63
	Total	1,394		2,697		5,212		273.89
Norway	Females	7,531	[27.40]	13,421	[34.54]	45,135	[49.42]	499.32
	Males	19,952	[72.60]	25,439	[65.46]	46,195	[50.58]	131.53
	Total	27,483		38,860		91,330		232.31
Sweden	Females	43,730	[38.46]	41,335	[38.83]	103,839	[46.50]	137.45
	Males	69,970	[61.54]	65,112	[61.17]	119,456	[53.50]	70.72
	Total	113,700		106,447		223,295		96.39

Note: Denmark and Finland report the gross number of registrations. Norway and Sweden report the net enrollment. Iceland's reporting method is unspecified. Bracketed figures represent the proportion of females and males with respect to the total number of students.

Sources: Adapted from the Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1975 Vol. 14, p. 257. Stockholm: Nordic Council; the Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1985 Vol. 24, pp. 338-339. Stockholm: Nordic Council.

Can any student who has fulfilled the necessary prerequisites attend college? In theory, the answer is yes; in reality, the answer is quite different. It might seem as though the expansion of higher educational facilities has increased the likelihood of applicants being admitted to the institutions and programs of their choices. However, a greater number of places does not necessarily guarantee anything except that more students can attend college. When university graduates no longer met labor market needs and educational expenditures took a greater proportion of the gross national product, most governments made unpopular decisions. All countries, with the exception of Norway, imposed restrictive quotas on all faculties. Applicants in Denmark and Sweden must overcome an additional barrier, computerized rankings.

How have these reforms affected the selection process? According to Heidenheimer (1977): "In periods of rapid educational growth, it proved difficult to find selection mechanisms which would sharply increase the representation of lower-class students" (p. 431). Consequently, children from upper-class backgrounds, as well as children from working-class families, benefited from governmental reform. While governments report only modest shifts in student enrollments, Anderson (1974) cautions against making hasty judgments:

> Lower-status families are so numerous that even large changes in their share in the student body could only imply small rises in their rates of student attendance. But only a few added upper-strata students can yield large rises in their ratios to the parental spectrum. (p. 172).

Nonetheless, the changes have disappointed most policy-makers. For example, Finland, acknowledged by most observers as making the greatest advances in equalizing educational opportunity, reports only small changes in social selectivity (OECD, 1982; Skard & Haavio-Mannila, 1984). Between 1961 and 1980, the number of university entrants from middle-class and upper-class families dropped from 36 to 31 percent, while the number of matriculants from working-class backgrounds increased from 26 to 28 percent. When analysts divided the population into two categories, upper-level employees and businessmen and skilled and unskilled workers, they found that children from families in the first category were nearly six times more likely to pursue an advanced education. Norwegian experts detected a similar shift. As more students were brought into the system, the number of children from working-class and agricultural backgrounds increased; however, approximately 41 percent of all college students still come from middle-class and upper-class families (OECD, 1976).

Class differentiation is even more pronounced in the prestige faculties. In general, "sub-elite" (Anderson, 1975) students are underrepresented in medicine, dentistry, and engineering and overrepresented in education, journalism, and social work.

Data from a Danish National Institute of Social Research survey suggest a student's chance to pursue an advanced education remains heavily dependent on parental socio-economic

status. Educational levels are "repeated from one generation to another" (OECD, 1978, p. 60); for example, children of university graduates most probably will pursue a traditional higher education, children of working-class parents normally will receive vocational training, and children of unskilled workers will remain unskilled. This trend is seen throughout the Nordic countries (Heckscher, 1984; OECD, 1976, 1980b, 1982; Rehn, 1984).

Women, as a group, have fared somewhat better. (Table 3) In less than fifteen years, the gender imbalance among university student has been, for the most part, corrected. Icelandic women enjoy a slight advantage over men and Danish and Norwegian student bodies are almost divided evenly. While Finland and Sweden lag behind, the imbalance is modest; men outnumber women by 4.6 percent in Finland and by 7 percent in Sweden. Finnish women, however, earn 69 percent of all first degrees as compared to Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish women who earn 40 precent, 55 percent, and 64 percent, respectively (Guðnadóttir, 1985, p. 290; Nordisk Ministerråd, 1985, p. 102).

Although the ratio of women to men has nearly equalized and women earn an increasing proportion of first degrees, imbalances remain with respect to the prestige faculties and advanced degrees. In all Scandinavian countries, women are disproportionately represented on faculties of education, philosophy, and social sciences. Law, economics, medicine, and natural sciences

remain male-dominated. Guðnadóttir's (1985) explanation of Icelandic women in higher education can be applied to women in other Scandinavian countries as well. While "women have become better educated than they were ten years ago," (Guðnadóttir, 1985, p. 290) they continue to matriculate into traditional female fields. "This is a matter of serious concern to many, since the typical female professions yield considerably lower pay than typical male ones" (Guðnadóttir, 1985, p. 290).

Discussion is underway in Sweden and Norway to selectively impose a "piggy-back" numerus clausus on disciplines having either a disproportionate number of men or women. Sweden and Iceland recently enacted legislation banning sex discrimination in higher education and Norway is considering similar legislation which includes "radical" quotas for certain fields where women are grossly underrepresented. At present, preference is given in Norway to women seeking admission to male-dominated fields such as economics.

It is too early to gauge how the shift in emphasis from traditional studies to more vocationally oriented programs will effect recruitment patterns for both groups, women and students from working-class families.

While men and women are equally represented across almost all age groups in Scandinavian institutions of higher learning, the number of university students as a proportion of the age-cohort is relatively small. (Table 4)

Table 4

Student Enrollments
at
Universities and Colleges at the University Level
1983

(percent of population)

		15-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30 and above years	Entire age-cohort
Denmark	Females	1.10	14.81	7.28	.20	2.70
	Males	1.13	12.75	9.17	1.48	2.75
	Total	1.11	13.76	8.25	.81	2.72
Finland	Females	2.09	17.13	7.77	.49	3.82
	Males	1.75	17.63	9.39	.67	3.44
	Total	1.92	17.53	8.60	.58	3.12
Iceland	Females	.51	14.91	5.17	.85	3.04
	Males	.30	14.02	6.06	.45	2.84
	Total	.40	14.46	5.63	.65	2.94
Norway	Females	1.84	14.96	6.07	.82	2.68
	Males	1.16	13.26	8.35	.85	2.85
	Total	1.46	14.09	7.24	.83	2.76
Sweden	Females	4.36	12.07	6.84	1.46	2.98
	Males	11.94	10.21	7.69	1.19	3.51
	Total	8.24	11.12	7.28	1.33	3.24

Note: Percentages are calculated by taking the number of college students as a proportion of the age-cohort. The same method is applied to the aggregate data to avoid distortion due to averaging.

Sources: Adapted from the Nordic Yearbook, 1985, vol. 24, pp. 22-24, pp. 340-341. Stockholm: Nordic Council.

Finland seems to have made the most significant advances toward coopting college-age students into the educational system; among 20 to 24 year olds, over 17 percent attend universities as compared to Danish, Icelandic, and Norwegian students who account for approximately 14 percent of their age groups and Swedish students who represent slightly more than 11 percent of the same category. The proportions across the countries equalize if the total student population is compared to all men and women fifteen years old or older.

Summary

The foregoing analysis suggests that Norway and Sweden have been the most successful in democratizing higher education. Denmark and Finland, while also implementing significant reform measures, generally have failed to equal the level of democratization reached by the other two countries. Iceland, with only one university, lags behind its neighbors in two important respects, viz. the university's subordination to government planners and the lack of equal representation for faculty, students, and staff on university governing bodies. (Figure 4)

Following the major higher educational reforms enacted during the 1970s, universities in Norway and Sweden managed to retain the greatest degree of decision-making autonomy; both kept full control over university spending and partial control over

curricula development and admissions policies. Danish universities share the responsibility for university spending with the Ministry of Education; however, like Finland and Iceland they have little, if any, control over admission policies.

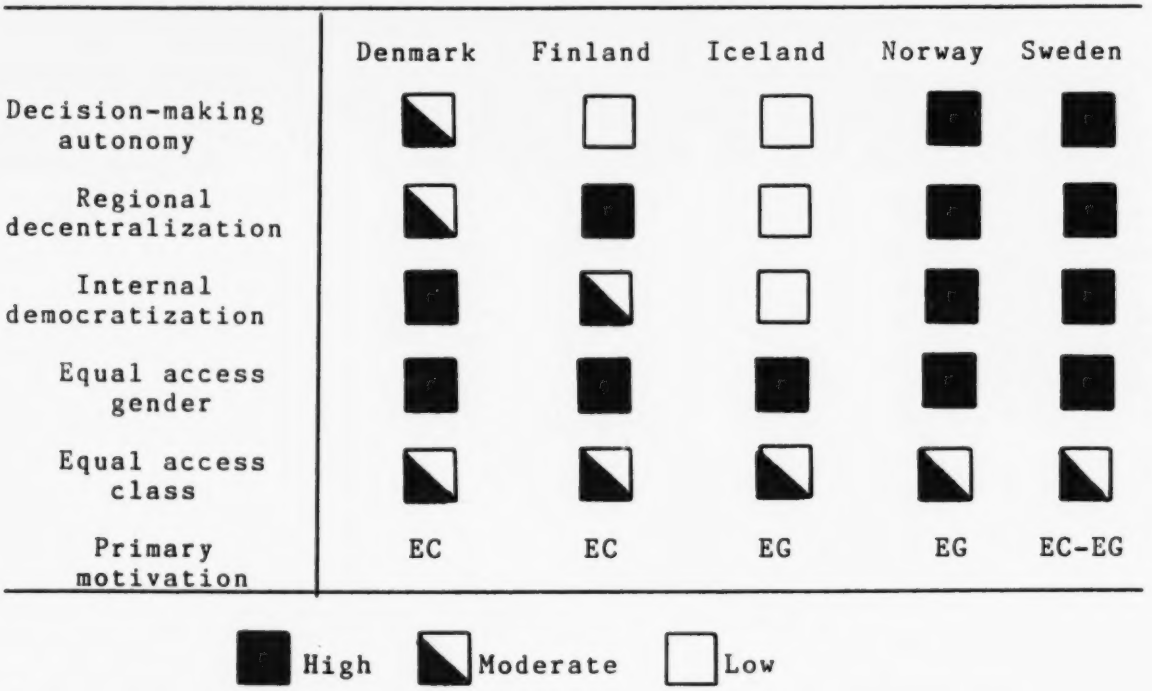
Finland, Norway, and Sweden have been more successful than and Iceland in decentralizing higher education regionally. Prior to 1959, Finnish institutions of higher learning were concentrated in Helsinki and Turku. There are currently seventeen universities, including those in the eastern, western, and northern regions. Norway, in addition to two new universities, established a network of regional colleges which offer vocational courses at the university level; the government plans to build six more to meet local needs. Sweden broadened its educational system by expanding four facilities and creating four university annexes and two new institutions of higher learning. Denmark added one university and established three university centers which offer two programs, one for the traditional student and one shorter study track.

The democratization of internal university decision-making also varies cross-nationally. Norway, and Sweden appear to have designed three of the most equitable systems. In Denmark, faculty members control 50 percent of the seats on governing bodies and students and administrative staff each hold 25 percent of the remaining positions. Representation in Norwegian universities differs from institution to institution; students and

nonacademic staff, however, comprise at least 50 percent of the total membership of all governing units. Swedish officials adopted a variation of the tri-partite system: equal numbers of faculty, students, and corporate interest representatives sit on all university education and program committees.[11] Internal university decision-making in Finland is based on a tri-partite system which allows professors, junior faculty and staff, and students equal representation on all governing structures. The arrangement at the University of Iceland is the least equitable; junior faculty has only limited participatory rights and administrative staff has no representation.

The results of greater access to higher education based on gender and class are more difficult to evaluate due to lack of comparable data. In general, all governments formulated policies to broaden the access to higher education. Recent reports suggest that Denmark, Iceland, and Norway have corrected the gender imbalance. While Finland and Sweden have not achieved perfect equality, women in both countries do earn the highest percentage of first degrees, 69 and 64 percent respectively. However, women in all five countries remain underrepresented on a number of prestige faculties and in post-graduate work.

Figure 4: Level of democratization of higher education in Scandinavia*



*The level of democratization assigned to each country reflects the advances each has made relative to the other four.

Abbreviations: EC (Economic considerations); EG (Egalitarian considerations); EC-EG (Balance of economic and egalitarian considerations).

The two countries which have made the most significant advances in higher educational reform have similar priorities. Norwegian policy initiatives are based primarily on egalitarian principles. Regional development was meant to correct educational disparities between young people from university towns and those from outlying areas. Swedish lawmakers balanced egalitarian concerns with economic considerations. All political

parties on the Left-Right spectrum acknowledged that higher educational policy should equalize social disparities and, at the same time, further economic growth. In both Finland and Denmark, economic considerations outweighed egalitarian concerns. Danish governmental planners, in an effort to sustain a high rate of economic growth and strengthen social welfare programs, broadened the access to higher education for all groups. Finnish legislators wanted to integrate the country culturally and economically. Part of their plan was to stimulate provincial industrial investment and teach students how to apply new technology to local business needs. Icelandic policy, based primarily on egalitarian ideals, resulted in only modest changes.

Every choice a government makes affects members of society differently. Scandinavian higher educational reform, irrespective of political motives, leveled a number of inequalities. In the process, however, university autonomy was eroded and institutions retained decision-making authority in precious few areas. Critics charge that centralized control has had deleterious consequences. They share Anderson's (1974) belief that universities have become nothing more than "organizations for inculcating specialized skills in accordance with the opinions of anonymous officials" (p. 174).

Many fail to acknowledge the positive aspects of change. Comprehensive reforms at all educational levels have opened university doors for a number of students once excluded from

post-secondary training; economically undeveloped areas are benefiting from regional expansion; and, internal university decision-making has been democratized.

NOTES

Author's note: I wish to thank Dr. John Logue, Kent State University, for his insightful comments on two earlier drafts of this paper. I also wish to thank Dr. Logue, Ari Johannson, and Anna Ingibergsdottir for translating data appearing in Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish articles.

[1]Following the Icelandic general elections, the Althingi is divided into an upper and lower chanber. All legislation must pass both houses. The Althingi, as a single unit, considers parliamentary motions, parliamentary questions, and the budget. Similarly, the Storting is divided into the Lagting (upper chamber) and the Odelsting (lower chamber). Most general legislation in the Norwegian Parliament is considered separately by both chambers.

[2]Between 1973 and 1975, Denmark had a Liberal minority government and in 1982 and 1984 the Center Democratic, Christian People's, Conservative, and Liberal parties formed minority coalition governments.

[3]Only high-level bureaucrats held seats on the U 68 Commission; its members included the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Education, the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, and the general directors of the National Board of Education and the National Labor Market Board (Ruin, 1982). Students, educators, political parties, trade unions, and businesses were able to express their views through their representatives who sat on one of five reference groups (Heidenheimer, 1978).

[4]According to Premfors (1978, 1979), the Swedish Social Democrats were unable to rely on Communist Party support on matters concerning educational policy.

[5]December 1978, the Riksdag enacted legislation that imposed restrictive quotas on all faculties effective July 1979 (OECD, 1980a). See Premfors (1978, 1979) for a detailed account of both governmental deliberations and policy modifications between 1976 and 1977.

[6]Education in Iceland never became a serious political issue which caused division along party lines. According to Pedersen (1981), students gained limited participatory rights as early as 1957 and, in 1969, they were given the right to elect two representatives to both the university senate and faculty

board. "Since 1976 [students] have controlled one-third of the vote in the election of the university rector" (Pedersen, 1981, p.450). Junior faculty are given only modest participatory rights.

[7]Norway did not impose restrictive quotas on all faculties.

[8]The Management of Institutions of Higher Education Act of 1973 also created a central board of studies which is responsible for the coordination and control of the various university administrative boards.

[9]The discussion of the democratization of internal university decision-making in Finland is based on Pesonen's (1982) excellent article, "Finland: The 'One Man-One Vote' Issue." His account of university reforms is one of a limited number translated into English.

[10]Norway extends the same privileges to students attending private institutions. Information is not available on student aid policy.

[11]According to the U 68 report, members from the municipal and county educational systems, as well as other politicians may hold seats on university governing bodies "where applicable" (Cf. "The Reorganization of Higher Education in Sweden," 1974).

REFERENCES

Allmanna valen, 1979 (Part 1). (1980). Stockholm: Statistiska Centralbyran.

Anderson, C. A. (1975). Expanding educational opportunities: Conceptualization and measurement. Higher Education, 4, 393-408.

Anderson, C. A. (1974). Sweden re-examines higher education: A critique of the U 68 report. Comparative Education, 10, 167-180.

The Danish university between the millstones: The Management of Institutions of Higher Education Act: Act No. 362 of 13 June 1973. (1977). Minerva, 15, 377-386.

Denmark. Ministry of Education. (1983). Education in Denmark: The education system. Copenhagen: Danish Ministry of Education.

Europa yearbook. (1984). London: Europa Publications.

Finland. Ministry of Education. (1984). Educational development in Finland: 1981-1984: Report by the Finnish Ministry of Education to the 39th sesssion of the International Conference on Education in Geneva, October 1984. Helsinki: Ministry of Education.

Guðnadóttir, J. M. (Ed.). (1985). Konur hvad nu? Staoa islenskra kvenna i kjolfar kvennaars og kvennaaratugar Sameinuou pjooanna, 1975-1985. Reykjavik: '85-Nefndin Samstarfsnefnd i lok Kvennaaratugar S. P. og Jafnrettisrao.

Hansen, B. (1976). Recurrent education: Policy and development in OECD member countries: Denmark (Report No. SO 009 996). Paris: OECD. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 138 524).

Heckscher, G. (1984). The welfare state and beyond: Success and problems in Scandinavia . Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Heidenheimer, A. J. (1978). Major reforms of the Swedish education system: 1950-1975. (World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 290). Washington, DC: World Bank.

Heidenheimer, A. J. (1977). Achieving equality through educational expansion: Problems in the Swedish experience. Comparative Political Studies, 10, 413-432.

Heidenheimer, A. J., Heclo, H., & Adams, C. T. (1983). Comparative public policy: The politics of social choice in Europe and America 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's.

Husén, T. (1969). Responsiveness and resistance in the educational system to changing needs of society: Some Swedish experiences. International Review of Education, 15, 476-486.

Iceland. Ministry of Culture and Education. (1981). Report on the Icelandic school system submitted to the 38th session of the International Conference on Education, Genevea, September 1981. Reykjavik: Ministry of Culture and Education.

Logue, J. & Einhorn, E. S. (1985). Comtinuity and change in the Scandinavian party system. Conference on European Parties and Party Systems in the 1980s. Dalhousie University, Halifax.

Mackie, T. T. & Rose, R. (Eds.). (1982). The international almanac of electoral history 2nd ed. New York: Facts on File.

Marklund, S. & Bergendal, G. (1979). Trends in Swedish educational policy. Uddevalla: The Swedish Institute.

Midgaard, K. (1982). Norway: The interplay of local and cultural decisions. In H. Daalder & E. Shils (Eds.), Universities, politicans and bureaucrats: Europe and the United States (pp. 275-328). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nordisk Ministerråd. (1985). Kvinnan forandrade i samhallet: De tudelade arbetsmarknaderna. Oslo: Nordisk Ministerrad.

Norway. Ministry of Church and Education. (1982). Education in Norway. Oslo: Ministry of Church and Education.

Norway. Ministry of Church and Education. (1976). Background report: The Norwegian educational system: Overview and Major policy issues. In Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Reviews of national policies for education [Report No. SO 009 750] (pp. 96-221). Paris: OECD. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 134 512)

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (1982). Reviews of national policies for education: Finland [Machine readable data file]. Paris: OECD (Producer). Arlington, VA: ERIC (Distributor).

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (1980a). Educational policy and planning: Goals for educational policy in Sweden: A status report on compulsory schooling and higher education [Machine readable data file]. Paris: OECD (Producer). Arlington, VA: ERIC (Distributor).

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (1980b). Reviews of national policies for education: Denmark. [Machine-readable data file]. Paris: OECD (Producer). Arlington, VA: ERIC (Distributor).

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (1976). Reviews of national policies for education: Norway [Report No. SO 009 750]. Paris: OECD. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 134 512)

Pedersen, M. N. (1981). Universities and other institutions of higher education. In E. Allardt et al. (Eds.), Nordic democracy: Ideas, issues, and institutions in politics, economy, education, social and cultural affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (pp. 444-464). Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab.

Pedersen, M. N. (1977). The Danish university between the millstones. Minerva, 15, 335-376.

Pesonen, P. (1982). Finland: The 'one man-one vote' issue. In H. Daalder & E. Shils (Eds.), Universities, politicians and bureaucrats: Europe and the United States (pp. 365-392). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Premfors, R. I. T. (1982). Values and higher education policy: Comparative higher education research group working paper No. 2 (Report No. HE 015 583). Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, Comparative Higher Education Research Group, Graduate School of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 223 150)

Premfors, R. I. T. (1979). The politics of higher education in Sweden: Recent developments, 1976-78. European Journal of Education, 14, 81-106.

Premfors, R. I. T. (1978). The politics of higher education in Sweden: Recent developments (1976-1978) (Report No. VHERG-30). New Haven, CT: Yale University. Institute for Social and Policy Studies. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 167 012)

Rehn, G. (1984). The wages of success. Daedalus, 113, 137-167.

The reorganization of higher education in Sweden. (1974). Minerva, 12, 83-114.

Ruin, O. (1982). Sweden: External control and internal participation-trends in Swedish higher education. In H. Daalder & E. Shils (Eds.), Universities, politicians and bureaucrats: Europe and the United States (pp. 329-364). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skard, T. & Haavio-Mannila, E. (1984). Equality between the sexes--myth or reality in Norden? Daedalus, 113, 141-167.

Statistical yearbook, 1977. (1977). Paris: UNESCO.

Statistical yearbook, 1985. (1986). Paris: UNESCO.

Whitehead, J. S. (1985). The democratization of Danish higher education: Causes, responses, and adaptations. Higher Education, 14, 57-73.

World almanac. (1960). New York: New York World Telegram.

Yearbook of Nordic statistics, 1967, Vol. 6. (1968). Stockholm: Nordic Council.

Yearbook of Nordic statistics, 1975, Vol. 14. (1976). Stockholm: Nordic Council.

Yearbook of Nordic statistics, 1985, Vol. 24. (1986). Stockholm: Nordic Council.